Why there is a Shipyard Lock-out

Workers' Dreadnought

FOR INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM.

Founded and Edited by SYLVIA PANKHURST

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THE PARABLE OF THE WATER TANK.

There was a certain very dry land, the people whereof were in sore need of water. And they did nothing but to seek after water from morning until night, and many perished because they could not find it.

Howbeit, there were certain men in that land who were more crafty and diligent than the rest, and these had gathered stores of water where others could find none, and the name of these men were called capitalists. And it came to pass that the people of the land came unto the capitalists and prayed them that they would give them of the water they had gathered, that they might drink, for their need was sore. But the capitalists answered them and said:

"Go to, ye silly people! Why should we give you of the water which we have gathered; for then we should become even as ye are, and perish with you? But behold, what we will do unto you. Be ye our servants and ye shall have water."

And the people said, "Only give us to drink, and we will be your servants, we and our children." And it was so.

Now the capitalists were men of understanding, and wise in their generation. They ordered the people who were their servants, in bands with captains and officers, and some they put at the springs, to dip, and others did they make to carry the water, and others did they cause to seek for new springs. And all the water was brought together in one place, and there did the capitalists make a great tank for to hold it, and the tank was called the Market; for it was there that the people, even the servants of the capitalists, came to get water. And the capitalists said unto the people:

"For every bucket of water that ye bring to us, that we may pour it into the tank, which is the Market, behold! we will give you a penny, but for every bucket that we shall draw forth to give unto you that you may drink of it, ye and your children shall give to us two pennies, and the difference shall be our profit, seeing that if it were not for this profit we should not do this thing for you, but ye should all perish."

And it was good in the people's eyes, for they were dull of understanding, and they diligently brought water unto the tank for many days, and for every bucket which they did bring, the capitalists gave them, every man, a penny; but for every bucket that the capitalists drew forth from the tank to give again unto the people, behold! the people rendered to the capitalists two pennies.

And after many days, the water tank, which was the Market, overflowed at the top, seeing that for every bucket the people poured in they received only so much as would buy again half of a bucket. And because of the excess that was left of every bucket, did the tank overflow; for the people were many, but the capitalists were few, and could drink no more than others. Therefore did the tank overflow.

And when the capitalists saw that the water overflowed, they said to the people:

"See ye not the tank, which is the Market, doth overflow? Sit ye down, therefore, and be patient; for ye shall bring us no more water till the tank be empty."

But when the people no more received the pennies of the capitalists for the water they brought, they could buy no more water from the capitalists, having naught wherewith to buy. And when the capitalists saw that they had no more profit, because no man bought water of them, they were troubled. And they sent forth men into the highways, the by-ways, and the hedges, crying: "If any thirst, let him come to the tank and buy water of us, for it doth overflow." For they said among themselves, "Behold! times are dull; we must advertise."

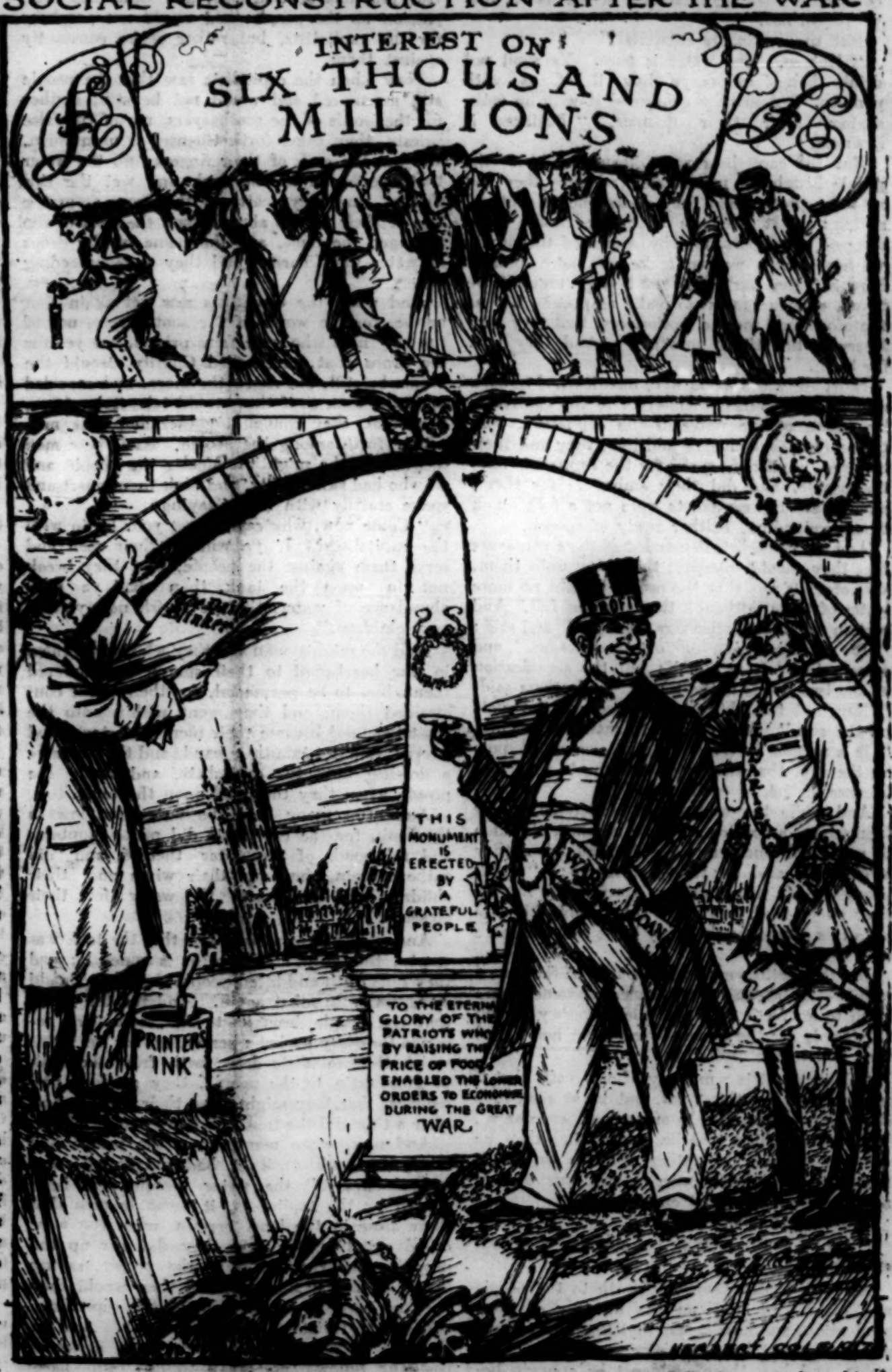
But the people answered, saying: "How can we buy unless ye hire us; for how else shall we have wherewithal to buy. Hire ye us, therefore, as before, and we will gladly buy water, for we thirst, and ye will have no need to advertise."

But the capitalists said to the people:

"Shall we hire you to bring water when the tank, which is the Market, doth already overflow? Buy ye, therefore, first water, and when the tank, through your buying, is empty, will we hire you again."

And so it was, because the capitalists hired them no more to bring water, that the people

THE WORKERS' BURDEN or SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION AFTER THE WAR


INTEREST ON
SIX THOUSAND
MILLIONS
THIS MONUMENT IS ERECTED BY A GRATEFUL PEOPLE
TO THE ETERNAL GLORY OF THE PATRIOTS WHO BY RAISING THE PRICE OF FOOD ENABLED THE LOWER ORDERS TO ECONOMISE DURING THE GREAT WAR
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could not buy the water they had brought already, and because the people could not buy the water they brought already, the capitalists no more hired them to bring water. And the saying went abroad, "It is a crisis."

And the thirst of the people was great, for it was not now as it had been in the days of their fathers, when the land was open before them, for every one to seek water for himself, seeing that the capitalists had taken all the springs, and the wells, and the water-wheels, and the vessels and the buckets, so that no man might come by water save from the tank, which was the Market. And the people murmured against the capitalists and said:

"Behold! the tank runneth over, and we die of thirst. Give us, therefore, of the water, that we perish not."

But the capitalists answered:

"Not so. The water is ours. Ye shall not drink thereof unless ye buy it of us with pennies." And they confirmed it with an oath, saying, after their manner, "Business is business."

But the capitalists were disquieted that the people bought no more water, whereby they had no more profits, and they spake one to another, saying: "It seemeth that our profits have stopped our profits, and by reason of the profits we have made, we can make no more profits. How is it that our profits are become unprofitable to us, and our gains do make us poor? Let us therefore send for the soothsayers, that they may interpret this thing unto us." And they sent for them.

Now, the soothsayers were men learned in dark sayings, who joined themselves to the capitalists by reason of the water of the capitalists, that they might have thereof and live, they and their children. And they spake for the capitalists unto the people, and did their embassies for them, seeing that the capitalists were not a folk quick of understanding, neither ready of speech.

And the capitalists demanded of the soothsayers that they should interpret this thing unto them, wherefore it was that the people bought no more water of them, although the tank was full. And certain of the soothsayers answered and said: "It is by reason of over-production," and some said, "It is glut"; but the signification of the two words is the same. And others said, "Nay, but this thing is by reason of the spots on the sun." And yet others answered, saying, "It is neither by reason of glut, nor yet of spots on the sun, that this evil has come to pass, but because of lack of confidence."

And while the soothsayers contended among themselves, according to their manner, the men of profit did slumber and sleep, and when they awoke they said to the soothsayers: "It is enough. Ye have spoken comfortably to us. Now go ye forth and speak comfortably likewise unto this people, so that they be at rest and leave us also in peace."

But the soothsayers, even the men of the dismal science—for so they were named of some—were loath to go forth to the people lest they should be stoned, for the people loved them not. And they said to the capitalists:

"Masters, it is a mystery of our craft, that if men be full and thirst not, but be at rest, then shall they find comfort in our speech, even as ye. Yet if they thirst and be empty, find they no comfort therein, but rather mock at us, for it seemeth that unless a man be full, our wisdom appeareth unto him but emptiness."

But the capitalists said:

"Go ye forth. Are ye not our men to do our embassies?"

And the soothsayerswent forth to the people and expounded to them the mystery of over-production, and how it was that they must needs perish of thirst because there was overmuch of water, and how there could not be enough, because there was too much. And likewise spoke they unto the people concerning the sun-spots, and also wherefore it was that these things had come upon them by reason of lack of confidence. And it was even as the soothsayers had said; for to the people their wisdom seemed emptiness. And the people reviled them, saying: "Go up, ye bald-heads! Will ye mock us? Doth plenty breed famine? Doth nothing come out of much?" And they took up stones to stone them.

And when the capitalists saw that the people still murmured and would not give ear to the soothsayers, and because also they feared lest they should come upon the tank and take of the water by force, they brought forth to them certain holy men (but they were false priests), who spake unto the people that they should be quiet and trouble not the capitalists because they thirsted. And these holy men, who were false priests, testified to the people that this affliction was sent to them of God, for the healing of their souls, and that if they should bear it in patience and lust not after the water, neither trouble the capitalists, it would come to pass that after they had given up the ghost, they would come to a country where there were no capitalists, but an abundance of water. Howbeit there were certain true prophets of God also, and these had compassion on the people, and would not prophesy for the capitalists, but rather spake constantly against them.

Now when the capitalists saw that the people still murmured and would not be still, neither for the words of the soothsayers, nor of the false priests, they came forth themselves unto them, and put the ends of their fingers into the water that overflowed in the tank and wet the tips thereof, and they scattered the drops from the tips of their fingers abroad upon the people who thronged the tank, and the name of the drops of water was Charity, and they were exceeding bitter.

And when the capitalists saw yet again that neither for the words of the soothsayers, nor of the holy men who were false priests, nor yet for the drops that were called Charity, would the people be still, but raged the more, and crowded upon the tank as if they would take it by force, then took they council together and sent men privily forth among the people. And these men sought out the mightiest among the people and all who had skill in war, and took them apart and spake craftily with them, saying:

"Come now, why cast ye not your lot in with the capitalists? If ye will be their men and serve them against the people, that they break not in upon the tank, then shall ye have abundance of water, that ye perish not, ye and your children."

And the mighty men and they who were skilled in war hearkened to their speech and suffered themselves to be persuaded, for their thirst constrained them, and they went within unto the capitalists and became their men, and staves and swords were put into their hands and they became a defence unto the capitalists, and smote the people when they thronged upon the tank.

And after many days the water was low in the tank, for the capitalists did make fountains and fish-ponds of the water thereof, and did bathe therein, they and their wives and their children, and did waste the water for their pleasure.

And when the capitalists saw that the tank was empty, they said, "The crisis is ended"; and they sent forth and hired people that they should bring water to fill it again. And for the water that the people brought to the tank they received for every bucket a penny, but for the water which the capitalists drew forth from the tank to give again to the people, they received two pennies, that they might have their profit. And after a time did the tank overflow even as before.

And now, when many times the people had filled the tank until it had overflowed, and had thirsted till the water therein had been wasted by the capitalists, it came to pass that there arose in the land certain men who were called agitators, for that they did stir up the people. And they spake to the people, saying that they should associate, and then would they have no need to be servants of the capitalists, and should thirst no more for water. And in the eyes of the capitalists were the agitators pestilent fellows, and they would fain have crucified them, but durst not for fear of the people.

And the words of the agitators which they spake to the people were on this wise:

"Ye foolish people, how long will ye be deceived by a lie and believe to your hurt that which is not? For behold all these things that have been said unto you by the capitalists and by the soothsayers are cunningly-devised fables. And likewise, the holy men who say it is the will of God that ye should always be poor and miserable and athirst, behold! . . . Is it not because ye have no money? And why have ye no money? Is it not because ye receive one penny for every bucket that ye bring to the tank, which is the Market, but must render two pennies for every bucket ye take out, so that the capitalists may have their profit? See ye not how by this means the tank must overflow, being filled by that ye lack and made to abound out of your emptiness? See ye not also that the harder ye toil, and the more diligently ye seek and bring the water, the worse, and not the better it shall be for you, by reason of the profit, and that for ever?"

After this manner spake the agitators for many days unto the people, and none heeded them, but it was so that after a time the people hearkened. And they answered and said unto the agitators:

"Ye say truth. It is because of the capitalists and of their profits that we want, seeing that by reason of them and their profits we may by no means come to the fruit of our labour, so that our labour is in vain, and the more we toil to fill the tank the sooner doth it overflow, and we may receive nothing, because there is too much, according to the words of the soothsayers. But, behold! the capitalists are hard men and their tender mercies are cruel. Tell us if ye know any way whereby we may deliver ourselves out of our bondage unto them. But if ye know of no certain way of deliverance, we beseech you to hold your peace and let us alone, that we may forget our misery."

And the agitators answered and said: 'We know a way."

And the people said: "Deceive us not, for this thing hath been from the beginning, and none hath found a way of deliverance unto now, though many have sought it carefully with tears. But if ye know a way, speak unto us, quickly."

Then the agitators spake unto the people of the way. And they said:

"Behold! what need have ye at all of these capitalists, that ye should yield them profits upon your labour? What great thing do they, wherefore ye render them this tribute? Lo! it is only because they do order you in bands and lead you out and in and set your tasks and afterward give you a little of the water yourself have brought, and not they. Now, behold the way out of this bondage! Do ye for yourselves that which is done by the capitalists—namely, the ordering of your labour, and the marshalling of your bands, and the dividing of your tasks. So shall ye have no need at all of the capitalists, and no more yield to them any profit, but all the fruit of your labour shall ye share as brethren, everyone having the same; and so shall the tank never overflow until every man is full, and would not wag the tongue for more, and afterward shall ye with the overflow make pleasant fountains and fish-ponds to delight yourselves withal, even as did the capitalists; but these shall be for the delight of all."

And the people answered, "How shall we go about to do this thing, for it seemeth good to us?"

And the agitators answered: "Choose ye discreet men to go in and out before you and to marshall your bands and order your labour, and these men shall be as the capitalists were; but, behold! they shall not be your masters as the capitalists are, but your brethren and officers who do your will, and they shall not take any profits, but every man his share like the others, that there may be no more masters and servants among you, but brethren only. And from time to time, as ye see fit, ye shall choose other discreet men in place of the first to order the labour."

And the people hearkened, and the thing was very good to them. Likewise seemed it not a hard thing. And with one voice they cried out. "So let it be as ye have said; for we will do it!"

And the capitalists heard the noise of the shouting and what the people said, and the soothsayers heard it also, and likewise the false priests and the mighty men of war, who were a defence unto the capitalists; and when they heard, they trembled exceedingly, so that their knees smote together, and they said one to another, "Is it the end of us?"

And the people went and did all the things that were told them of the agitators to do. And

(*Continued on page 8.*)

DESIRABLE MANSIONS.

By Edward Carpenter.

(Continued.)

But it is a very real one. What cares, what anxieties, what yellow and blue fits, what sleepless nights, dance attendance on the worshipper in the great Temple of Stocks! The capricious deity that dwells there has to be appeased by ceaseless offerings. Usury! Crookfaced idol, loathed yet grovelled to by half the world, whose name is an abomination to speak openly, yet whose secret rites are practised by thousands who revile thy name, what spell of gloom and bilious misery dost thou cast over thy worshippers! Is it possible that the ancient curse has not yet lost its effect; that to acquire interest on money and to acquire interest in life are *not* the same thing; that they are positively not compatible with each other; that to fly from one's just share of labour in the world, in order to live upon the hard-earned profits of others, is not, and cannot come to good?

Is it possible, I say, reader, that there *is* a moral law in the world facing us quite calmly in every transaction of our lives, by which it must be so—by which cowardice and sham cannot breed anything else for us but gloom and billious misery? In this age which rushes to stocks—to debenture, preference, consolidated, and ordinary stocks, to shares, bonds, coupons, dividends—not even refusing scrip when it can get it—does it ever occur to us to consider what it all means; to consider that all the money so gained is *taken* from someone else; that what we have not *earned* cannot possibly be ours, except by gift, or (shall I say it?) *theft*? How can it, then, come with a blessing? How can we not but think of the railway operatives, the porters, managers, superintendents, drivers, stokers, platelayers, carriage-washers, navvies, out of whose just earnings (and from no other source) our dividends are taken? Let alone honesty—what, surely, does onr pride say to this? Is it possible that this frantic dividend-dance of the present day is like a dance of dancers dancing without any music—an aimless, incoherent, impossible dance, weltering down at last to idiocy and oblivion?

Curious, is it not, that this subject (of dividends) is never mentioned before said wage-receiving classes? I have often noticed that. When James enters the room, or Jefferey comes to look at the gas-fittings, the babble of stocks dies faintly away, as if ashamed of itself; and while a man will, without reserve, allude to his professional salary, he is generally as secret concerning his share-gotten gains as ladies are said to be about their age.

But, as I said at first, these things are not generally a man's fault. They are the product of the circumstances in which he is born. From his childhood he is trained ostensibly in the fear of God, but really in the fear of money.* The whole tenor of the conversation which he hears round him, and his early teaching, tend to impress upon him the awful dangers of not having *enough*.

Strange that it never occurs to parents of this class to teach their children how *little* they can live upon,and be happy (but perhaps they do not know). Hence, the child of the poor man—even in these adverse times—grows up with some independence of mind; for he knows that if at any time he can obtain £50 or £100 a year by the work of his hands, he will be able to bring up a little family; while the son of a rich man in the midst of a family income of fifty times £50, learns to tremble slavishly at the prospect of the future; dark hints of the Workhouse are whispered in his ears; father and mother, school-teachers and friends, join in pressing him into a profession which he hates—stutifying his whole life—because it will lead to £500, or even £1,000 a year, in course of time. This is the great test, the sure criterion between two paths: which will lead to more money? The youthful tender conscience soon comes to look upn it as a duty, and the acquisition of large dividends as part of the serious work of life. Then come true the words of the preacher: he realises with painful clearness the difficulty of findng investments which shall be profitable and *also secure*; circulars, reports, newspaper-cuttings, and warning letters flow in upon him; sleepless nights are followed by anxious days, telegrams and railway journeys succeed each other. But the game goes on: the income gets bigger and bigger, and the fear of the Workhouse looms closer!

Some get married and others die. Hence trustee-ships and executor-ships, increasing in number year by year, coil upon coil, solicitors hover around on all sides, jungles of red tape have to be waded through, Chancery looms up with its "obscene birds" upon the horizon, and the hapless boy, now an old man before his time, with snatched meals and care-lined brow, goes to and fro like an automaton—a walking testimony to his own words, that "the days of happiness are long past."

Before God, I would rather, with pick and shovel, dig a year long drain beneath the open sky, breathing freely, than I would live in this jungle of idiotic duties and thin-lipped respectabilities that money breeds.

Why the devil should the days of your happiness be gone past, except that you have lived a life to stultify the whole natural man in you? Do you think that happiness is a little flash-in-the-pan when you are eighteen, and that is all? Do you not know that expanding age, like a flower, lifts itself into a more and more exquisite sunlight of happiness—to which Death, serene and beautiful, comes only at last with the touch of perfected assurance? Do you not know that the whole effort of Nature in you is towards this happiness, if you could only abandon yourself, and for one child-like moment have faith in your own mother? But she knows it, and watches you, half amused, run after your little "securites," knowing surely that you must at length return to her.

But wherein the affluent classes suffer most in the present day is perhaps in the matter of health Into that heaven it is indeed hard for a rich man to enter. Here, again, the whole tradition of life is against him. If there is one thing that appears to me to be more certain than another, it is, as I have partly said before, that no individual or class can travel far from the native life of the race, without becoming shrivelled, corrupt, diseased—without suffering, in fact. By the native life I mean the life of those (always the vast majority of human kind) who live and support themselves in direct contact with Nature.† To rise early, to be mostly in the open air, to do some amount of physical labour, to eat clean and simple food are necessary and aboriginal conditions of the life of our race, and they are necessary and aboriginal conditions of health. The doctor who does not start from these as the basis of his prescriptions does not know his work.

The modern money lender, man of stocks, or whatever you call him, and his family, live in the continual violation of these conditions. They get up late, are mostly indoors, do little or no physical work and take quantities of rich and greasy foods and stimulants, such as would exhaust the stomach of a strong man, but which to them, in their already enervated state, are simply fatal. Hence a long catalogue of evils, ever branching into more. Hence dyspepsia, nerves, liver, sexual degeneracies, and general depression of vitality; a gloomy train, but whose drawn features you will recognise if you peep into any one of these desirable mansions of which I have spoken. A terrible symptom of our well-to-do (?) modern life is this want of health, and one which presses for serious attention. There is only one remedy for it; but that remedy is a sure one—the return (or advance) to a simpler mode of existence.

What is the upshot of all this? There was a time when the rich man had duties attending his wealth. The lord or baron was a petty king, and had kingly responsibilities, as well as power. The Sir Roger, of Addison's time, was the succeeding type of landlord. And even to the present day there lingers here and there, a country squire who fulfils that now antiquated ideal of kindly condescenion and patronage. But the modern rush of steam engines and the creation of a class of wealthy folk living on stocks, have completely subverted the old order. It has 'et loose on society a horde of wolves—a horde of people who have no duties attaching to their mode of life, no responsibility. They roam hither and thither, seeking whom and what they may devour. Personally, I have no objection to criminals, and think them quite as good as myself. But, talk of criminal classes, can there be a doubt that *the* criminal classes, *par excellence*, in our modern society, are this horde of stock- and share-mongers? If to be a criminal is to be an enemy of society, then they are such. For their mode of living is founded on the principle of taking without giving, of claiming without earning—as much as that of a common thief.

It is vain to make amends for this by charity organisations and unpaid magistracies. The cure must go deeper. It is no good trying to set straight the roof and chimneys when the whole foundation is aslant. These people are not boarded and lodged at His Majesty's pleasure, but the Eternal Justice, unslumbering, causes them to build prisons (as I have said) for themselves, plagues them with ill-health and divers unseen evils, and will and must plague them till such time as they shall abandon the impossible task they have set themselves, and return to the paths of reason.

The whole foundation is aslant, and *aslip*, as anyone may see who looks. In short, it is an age of transition. No mortal power could make durable a Sciety founded on Usury—universal and boundless usury. The very words scream at each other.

The baron has passed away, and the landlord is passing. They each had their duties, and while they fulfilled them, served their time well and faithfully. The share-holder has no duties, and is miserable, and will remain so till the final landslip, when the foundations having completely given way, he will crawl forth out of the ruins of his desirable mansion into the life and light of a new day.

Less oracular than this I dare not be! As I have said before, there is no conceivable condition of life in which the human soul may not find the materials of its surpassing deliverance from evil and mortality. And I, for one, would not, if I had the power, cramp human life into the exhibition of one universal routine. If any one desires to be rich, if anyone desires to gradually shut himself off from the world, to build walls and fences, to live in a house where it is impossible to get a breath of fresh air without going through half a dozen doors, and to be the prisoner of his own servants; if he desire it so that when he walks down the street he cannot whistle or sing, or shout across the road to a friend, or sit upon a doorstep when tired, or take off his coat if it is hot, but must wear certain particular clothes in a certain particular way, and be on such pins and needles as to what he may or may not do, that he is right glad when he gets back again to his own prison walls; if he loves trusteeships and Egyptian bonds and visitis from the lawyer, and feels glad when he finds a letter from the High Court of Chancery, on his breakfast table, and experiences, in attending to all these things, that satisfaction which comes of all honest work; if he feels renovated and braced by lying in bed of a morning, and by eating feast dinners every day, and by carefully abstaining from any bodily labour; if dyspepsia, and gout, and billiousness, and distress of nerves are not otherwise than grateful to him; and if he can obtain all these things without doing grievous wrong to others, by all means let him have them.

Only for those who do not know what they desire, I would lift up the red flag of warning. Only of that vast and ever vaster horde which to-day (chiefly, I cannot but think, in ignorance) rushes to Stocks, would I ask a moment's pause, and to look at the bare facts.

(continued on page 7.)

* Or as Mr. Locker has it:—

"They eat and drink and scheme and plod,
And go to church on Sunday;
For many are afraid of God,
And more of *Mrs. Grundy*."

† It must be noticed that the working masses of our great towns do not by any means fulfil this condition. Thrust down into the squalor by the very effort of others climbing to luxury, the unnaturalness and misery of their lives is the direct counterpart and inseparable accompaniment of the unnaturalness of the lives of the rich. That the great masses of our population to-day are in this unhealthy state does not, however, disprove the statement in the text, i.e., that the vast majority of mankind must live in direct contact with Nature—rather it would indicate that the present conditions can only be of brief duration.

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WHY THE SHIPPING LOCK-OUT?

At the annual banquet of the Chamber of Shipping, the Lord Chancellor observed that there are 12,000,000 tons more shipping in the world than in August 1914, with only about half the business to be done than in 1914 . He observed that there can be no revival of shipping till the total trade of the world is increased. 2,250,000 tons of British shipping—that is, 12½ per cent. of the tonnage of the United Kingdom—is laid up unused in port at present. 5,000,000 tons of United States shipping—or 40 per cent. of U.S. State-owned ships—are idle. Italy has 22 per cent. of its shipping idle.

The Lord Chancellor, as we must remember, is Lord Birkenhead, once F. E. Smith, who lent Colonel Will Thorne a fur coat to go to Russia in. The Lord Chancellor blamed the workers for the state of affairs, saying that if the miners had been prepared to accept the wage reductions desired by their employers, without being forced into acceptance by a lock-out, the income tax might have been reduced, and this would have helped the employers in their trade.

Sir A. M. Kennedy, managing director of the Fairfield Shipbuilding and Engineering Company, stated recently that 60 per cent. of the building berths in British and Scotch shipyards within the Federated area (including practically all the shipyards) were idle, that 15 per cent. had vessels on which work had been suspended or cancelled, and ony 25 per cent. had vessels on which work was proceeding.

He added that there was no work to follow, and that there was an average unemployment of 40 to 50 per cent. In one English district, usually employing 15,000 men, only 3,000 were working and 12,000 were idle. There were 85 building berths, but only two were occupied.

In one Scottish district with 40 building berths, only one-fourth of the men were employed.

Though steel had come down in price from £26 per ton to £10; yet high income tax, the Corporation tax, and high local rates made it impossible for British firms to compete with continental.

Quite so; but the variations in the exchange rates of money must also be considered. With the mark varying between 1,200 and 1,400 to the £, instead of twenty, it is not easy for British yards to compete with German. It is true, however, that Dutch firms have several times recently secured contracts for which British firms have tendered, though the value of Dutch money is slightly above the normal exchange rate.

The important point, however, is that if we were producing for use instead of for profit: if money were not entering into the transaction, there would be no question of competing with the shipbuilders of other countries. The shipbuilders in the various countries would provide the ships necessary to supply the world demand. It would be immaterial for which country the ship were being built; indeed, shipping would probably be international.

At present, according to Lord Birkenhead, there are too many ships for the world's requirements. Under Communism we should not build too many ships. We should have no need to compete for opportunities to build, nor would anyone need to remain idle because no more ships were at present required. Every worker in the shipyard could practice his particular craft upon some other work required by the community. William Morris, is his "News From Nowhere" suggested that work may be scarce under Communism. If that were so, it would only be because everyone's requirements would be well supplied out of the abundance produced. When work were lacking under Communism, people would rest, study, or play.

Sir George B. Hunter, of Swan, Hunter, Wigham, and Richardson, of Wallsend-on-Tyne, said that a recent shipbuilding order had gone to a continental firm, because the lowest British tender, though including only half the cost of standing charges was over £240,000, whilst the continental tender was under £190,000. He blamed high piece rates of Labour for the inflation of costs, saying that with high piece rates, the tendency is for the worker to make a certain amount, and no more; and that when piece rates come down, the worker maintains his wages at about the same figure as before, by increasing his production.

That may be; but does it not occur to Sir George Hunter that the worker, even on the higher piece rate scale, is probably producing more than a person ought to produce with due consideration for the maintenance of his natural and physical vigour and continued development as a human being?

If all were workers, and if all the useless work connected with buying and selling, advertisement, financial manipulation and accounting and the gigantic officialdom attendant on the capitalist system were abolished: then no one would require to give the long and arduous toil at present forced from the manual worker.

AUSTRALIAN SEAMEN.

Mr. Hughes, the "Labour" Prime Minister of Australia, declares that the seamen's Unions of Australia are challenging the authority of the State and striking at the foundation of authority.

Therefore control of the Commonwealth Goevrnment Line is to be vestd in a non-political Board, because it is thought that the Government is too sensitive to attacks by Labour agitators.

The Australian Navigation Act, passed in 1912, provides that shipowners must pay the wages set by the Arbitration Court, and provide shipping, messing and lavatory accommodation prescribed by the Act. British mail ships refuse to comply with the conditions of the Australian Act, and therefore cannot serve Australian ports. Australian shipowners are not displeased by this.

S. O. S.

GET US NEW READERS.

We want new readers, in order to increase the usefulness of the *Dreadnought*, by carrying its message to larger numbers of readers.

We want new readers because by increasing our circulation we shall place the paper on a firm financial basis. We ask you to get us new readers. We also ask you to **send a donation to the £500 Fund,** to clear off pressing liabilities. Only £188 12s. 9d. has yet been collected.

SEND WHAT YOU CAN.

THE LLOYD GEORGE PREVARICATIONS.

Truthfulness is by no means a virtue prized by politicians. The Sisley-Huddleston revelations of Lloyd George's duplicity in 1919 throw no new light on the Premiers' character. He plays the shuffling game of the office hunter who sacrifices everything to the maintenance of his position. He plays this old game with more impudent inconsistency than is usual; but memories are short, and so far he has been remarkably successful in achieving his principal aim.

When he showed his 1919 Memorandum to Mr. Huddleston and asked him to publish the gist of it as emanating from a "High Authority," Lloyd George obviously did so to ascertain how British public opinion would receive a more pacific policy than that he had employed in winning his election. As the policy evoked no great enthusiasm and was met with some noisy opposition, Lloyd George repudiated it and accused Mr. Huddleston "the reliable source," of purveying false information. Now that the unpopularity of the Peace Terms has become strong and widespread, Lloyd George desires to escape that unpopularity by saying these were not his terms: therefore he has published his 1919 Memorandum to the Peace Conference, which he repudiated at the time.

One wonders what reply Lloyd George will make to Mr. Sisley Huddleston now that the latter has told the whole story and publicly convicted him of lying.

As for Mr. Huddleston, we think he should have told the truth at the time.

THE EMPLOYERS' APPLETON ON WORKERS' CONTROL.

Mr. W. Appleton, secretary of the General Federation of Trades, whom the whole Trade Union world continues to tolerate as an official, has been addressing a meeting of employers at Bradford. He declared that co-partnership is better than the proposals put forward on revolutionary platforms, and that the interests of Capital and Labour are not very different. He thought that when workmen talk of workers' control, they hardly realise that the control at which they aim is quite impossible if there is to be any success at all in business. "Men" could be consulted profitably as to the manipulation of material, the expediting of production, the maintenance of efficiency; but when it came to "larger issues," he doubted whether many had the time or the will for the anxieties which must, on many occasions, be shouldered.

By the "larger issues" Mr. Appleton evidently means profit-making considerations. We dissent from the view that the mercenary side of industry should be regarded as "larger" or as large as considerations of efficiency and expedition of production and the health of the workers

But, then, *we* want to abolish the mercenary side of industry altogether. We quite agree that the workers are hardly likely to be as efficient as the employer is in gaining the employer's profits; because the question of reducing the workers' subsistence level comes in here. It is obvious that the worker will not be willing to sacrifice present wages for the future of an industry which will dismiss him as soon as it becomes more profitable to employ someone else.

Since Mr. Appleton and many of the employers are willing to admit that the workers can efficiently administer the productive side of industry, they have conceded the case for Communism; for under Communism the marketing of industrial products will cease altogether, and therefore it will not be necessary for the workers to qualify themselves as experts in the sales and finance departments.

TELEPHONES.

In this country there is one telephone to every forty-seven members of the population. In the United States there is one to eight persons. In Canada there is one to every ten persons.

When we have Communism we shall have a free telephone for every household which desires it, and when there are no money payments, all the book-keeping and accounting will be dispensed with.

COLONEL MALONE.

An Apology.

We tender our apologies to Lt.-Col. Malone, M.P., because in a recent issue of the *Workers' Dreadnought* his name appeared as one of the persons whose words, either for or against Communism, were quoted in a certain anti-Communist pamphlet, called "Poison." Though Bakunin, Marx, Keir Hardie, Hyndman, Wilhelm Liebknecht, Belfort Bax, Harry Quelch, Robert Smillie, Bernard Shaw, Tom Mann, and others were quoted, Lt.-Col. Malone, M.P. was not quoted. Lt.-Col. John Ward, M.P., however, was quoted. Therefore, apparently, as Lt.-Col. Malone, M.P. suggests, his name was inadvertenly substituted by us for that of this other Lt.-Colonel M.P. We express our regret for the mistake.

The moral seems to be that a Bolshevik should beware of possessing titles usually given to the trusted upholders of Capitalism.

The pamphlet in question abounds in contradictions. It calls itself "Poison, which is being scattered broadcast over the country." The title is exceedingly apt. On reading it one recalls the old saying: "One man's meat is another man's poison."

THE WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL
Its Four Stages.

Comrades! The idea of a common class interest of the entire world-proletariat was first pronounced in the "Communist Manifesto," written on the eve of the great conflicts between the bourgeoisie and proletariat, in the revolutionary year 1848. This permanent brain of Socialism, as Franz Mehring has called it, has carried into the world the recognition of the necessity of the international proletarian class-struggle, and with it also, of the proletarian International through its immortal battle-cry: "Workers of all countries, unite!"

The League of the Just.

When the "Communist Manifesto" was written, Communist organisations already existed. These were, rather, unions made up of some single individuals, than of the proletarian masses.

The Communist League.

From the League of the Just, that had sprung into existence in the 'thirties of last century in Germany, the Communist League had developed, especially through the instrumentality of Marx and Engels. This was an international union of individuals who resided in the various cities of Europe and the United States of America. This union, *the first international organisation of proletarians*, was so small that its membership was limited, so far as the various single towns were concerned, to groups of from three to ten persons. The membership of a group was not to exceed ten persons. That was a precautionary measure against police prosecutions and the espionage of the monarchical Governments of that time. This entire League had throughout the *character of illegality*. Its form of organisation had nevertheless made good progress. It was built up of local groups, then of districts, leading districts, countries, and its sovereign power was concentrated in a central body—the Congress.

The League stood for Communism and the international proletarian class-struggle. It was a propaganda society which endeavoured to direct the proletarian class-tsruggle towards the abolition of the bourgeoisie and of the old society based on class antagonisms, and the substitution of a society without class and without private property. The League saw its foremost and most pressing object in the founding of proletarian educational clubs in all countries.

The League had to be satisfied with this modest object, because the conditions necessary to an active revolutionary effort to overthrow the bourgeoisie did not yet exist in most countries.

The First International.

After the revolutionary struggle for power, in the 'fifties, a certain stagnation and demolition of all revolutionary movements set in, which also obliterated, or, at least, put back, the ideas of the League of Communists, these first beginnings of the proletarian International, in the minds of the few consciously revolutionary workers. The demand for an International uniting the proletariat of all countries, was not raised again before the beginning of the 'sixties, and then in quite a different form and to a different extent. The first International, or as it was then called, the International Workers' Association, came about at a time when the British workers, that is to say, the British Trade Unions, felt themselves threatened by the competition that the English bourgeoisie created for them through the employment and "importation" of foreign workers.

The English workers turned to the French workers with an address, and proposed an international meeting, in ordr to make an end of the competition. The real starting point of the International Workers' Association was thus by no means that of the proletarian-revolutionary, but sprung from the will of the working class of one country to preserve the market for its labour power. The meeting of the French and English delegates, at which also a number of other countries were represented, took place in 1864, at St. Martin's Hall, London. There the International Workers' Association was founded, and, on the motion of the English Trade Unionists, a Committee for drawing up a programme for an international organisation was elected. This Committee, to which Karl Marx belonged, was composed of 50 members in all, of which the English Trade Unionists formed one-half.

Marx and Engels, who immediately played a prominent part in the organisation, considered themselves compelled, in order to set a workers' movement on foot, to abandon, theoretically, the prgramme of the League of Communists, and to place this International on quite a different theoretical basis from that of the Communist League. Characteristic in this respect is Engels' pronouncement that on the one hand the English Trade Unions, on the other the Italian, French and Spanish Syndicalists, and the German Lassallians must not be shut out.

In the first International organisations were represented which comprised practically everything the Labour movement had produced in programmes and parties. It was a mixture of all elements, from the Anarchists to the reformist Trade Unions. Above all, English Trade Unions were represented.

There came from France two tendencies: one led by Blanqui, the other by the French Proudhonists, who imagined the proletarian revolution could be rendered by the founding of Exchange Banks with the assistance of the State, partly, even, of the monarchical States, through the aid of credit, etc. From Italy the Party of Mazzini, a Republican Party without any Socialist principle, a party that later on, as the bourgeois State was attacked, immediately turned against the Interntional. From Germany no actual organisation was therein represented, at least, none of the Social Democratic movements, which were just at that time growing up. The Lassallians were, in principle, for the International, but declared that they could not join it, because they would then come into conflict with the laws.

From this grouping it may be seen that this International could not be capable of uniform action of a determined attack upon the bourgeoisie. Owing to the great weight which the English Trade Unionists possessed in the International Workers' Association, its main objects and practical activity moved principally within the bounds of the English Labour movement. The fights for English election reforms and the ten-hours' Bill occupied a prominent place.

The first International had very many conflicts in its Congresses, but always the standpoint of the English Trade Unions prevailed. It was impossible to force this International into the proletarian-revolutionary path, because it consisted predominantly of Trade Unionists who had no intention, and therefore had no object of destroying the capitalist State.

The Cause of the Collapse.

The most important cause of the collapse of the first International was the outbreak of the Paris Commune. This occurrence was shaking the International to the root. When the Paris Commune broke out, it was shown how feeble was the first International. The English Trade Unionists repudiated the Paris Commune as determinedly as the Mazzini Party. Marx and Engels defended, in their well-known inaugural address, the proclaiming of the Paris Commune as the first great independent step of the proletarian revolution. Thus it happened that over this question of dispute the first International was split.

The real economic cause of thos collapse was, of course, to be sought in the development of capitalist society generally. Capitalism was then still in most countries in the first stage of development. It had first of all, especially in Germany and Italy, to develop to a national unit before it could enter into the higher stage of international capitalism. The Labour movement took part in this step when Capitalism entered in all countries upon the road of establishing national unity, and began to form its national State. At this time, everywhere, the national Social Democratic Parties were formed, that later on were to make up the second International. *continued.)*

HAPPENINGS OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

The people had endured misery and oppression under Louis XV, but revolted, at his death, in 1774, believing that a change of masters at the palace meant a slackening of authority. There was a continuous series of riots between 1775 and 1777.

The harvest of 1774 had been bad, and bread was scarce; hunger rioting broke out in April 1775. At Dijon the people seized the houses of monopolists, destroyed their furniture, and smashed their flour mills. The governor of the town had said to the people: "The grass has sprouted: go to the towns and browse on it." The riots were the popular reply.

Rioting followed in Auxerre, Amiens, Lille, and the famished people assembled at Pontoise, Passy and Saint-German, to pillage the granaries and proceed to the king's palace at Versailles. Louis XVI was afraid and wished to tell the people, from his balcony, that the price of bread would be reduced. Turgot, his Minister, dissuaded him, and the rioters passed on to plunder the Paris bakeries and distribute food to the crowd. The troops dispersed the people, and two of the rioters were hanged at the Place de la Grève. They cried out in their death agony that they were dying for the people.

Placards now began to appear on the walls at Versailles, insulting the King and his Ministers, and threatening to execute the King the day after his coronation, unless the price of bread were reduced.

Forged edicts announcing that the State Council had reduced the price of wheat began to be circulated throughout the country, so that the people began demanding it at the reduced price, and refusing to pay more. Pamphlets were distributed broadcast, denouncing the Government and ridiculing the King. Taxes on milling were abolished, in order to appease the people; but the people of Rouen declared that all manorial dues were abolished, and rose in protest against ever paying them again.

False reports were circulated all over France in 1776, stating that all Statute labour and dues to the landowners were abolished. The result was the refusal of the people to fulfil the obligations, and resistance when the landlords attempted to enforce them.

Between 1767 and 1783 there was a decrease in the unrest; but in 1788 the riots began again and continued increasing everywhere.

The leaders of the unrest were nicknamed "mascarats" broke into the Law Courts and lawyers' the "practitioners" who sowed dissension amongst the peasants, to incite them to go too low. The "mascarts" broke into the Law Courts and lawyers' houses and burned the deeds and contracts. Three of the leaders were hanged, others sent to penal servitude.

In 1786 a strike of silk weavers took place at Lyons. the troops were called out, a fight arose, and three of the leaders were hanged.

Every calling up of soldiers led to a riot. Rioting greeted the collection of taxes.

At that time there existed local Courts of Justice called *parlements*. It was the law that these *parlements* register edicts of the King and the Ministers. In 1787 the Paris Parliament refused an edict granting money to the Court. The King banished the *parlement* to Troyes. There were riotous demonstrations in Paris. The King bowed to popular feeling and recalled the *parlement*. More demonstrations occurred. The people illuminated the Place Dauphine, and demanded money for fireworks from passers-by. In 1788 the *parlements* were dissolved and replaced by "Plenary Courts." Then insurrections arose throughout France. In Brittany, where the Governor and the Military Commander of Rennes went to the Breton *parlement* to announce its dissolution, the crowd insulted and hustled them. A leaflet was distributed declaring the Governor to be "a monster that deserves to be strangled." As the Governor came out, he was stoned and a slip-knot was thrown over him. The troops were ordered to fight the people, but the crowd broke their ranks and an officer threw down his sword and fraternised with the people.

At Grenoble, when the military Commander dissolved the *parlement*, the tocsin was rung and the peasants flocked into the town. The Commander's guard was helpless, his palace was sacked, and with an axe held over his head, he was compelled to revoke the royal edict dissolving the *parlement*. The members of the *parlement*, who were not prepared to resist the edict, were held prisoners by the people. The people, and chiefly the women, were those who acted.

The middle classes of Grenoble were afraid. They organised a citizen's militia, which took possession of the town gates and some military posts, and soon gave them up to the King's troops. Cannon were trained on the people, and the *parlement* disappeared in the night.

In a rising at Besançon, the Swiss troops refused to fire on the people, but reinforcements were obtained from Paris.

On September 14th, 1788, a Paris mob set fire to the house of the Ministers Lamoignon, Brienne, and Dubois.

Peasant risings at last became so general that, to provide the expenses of the State, Louis XVI was obliged to convoke, first the two Assemblies of Notables, then the States General.

(To be continued.)

COMMUNIST WORKERS
(LEFT-WING ANTI-PARLIAMENTARY COMMUNISTS)

WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT MEETINGS.

THE MINERVA CAFE,

144 HIGH HOLBORN.

APRIL 9TH, AT 4 O'CLOCK.

THE POWER OF THE WORKERS.

By Wobbly.

In one of Kautsky's books, one written when he was known as a militant and an exponent of the grim and inevitable class war, is a quotation which bears much light on the struggle of the proletariat to-day.

" So it seems to be a general law of social development that countries which are pioneers in the economic development are tempted to put compromise in the place of radical solution."—(*Ethics and the M.C.H.*).

It fits admirably with the position of Great Britain—the classic home of Capitalism. Time and time again have the British revolutionists been defrauded and deluded by the temptation to flirt with those outragers of working-class principles, known as Labour fakirs.

Look down the line and see the capitalist roll of honour that encompasses so many working-class leaders' names, and to-day, when the glare of Communist beacons should be showing, vivid and crude, the hollow shams of a rotten Labour movement, they are weakly flickering on the tinsel and gaudy shams which hide that rottenness.

The British worker is said to have a weakness for nobility. No wonder, when such displays of love for the aristocracy of Labour are indulged in by the vanguard—so-called.

Small hopes for the working class intelligently grasping the essential problems can be entertained, unless the working class can be made to move out of the morass of an obsolete economic organisation, to the clear hard ground of revolutionary organisation. The working class cannot be guided to Communism by a moving picture of crashing banks and kaleidoscopic high finance, nor yet by a gramophone display of street cries such as " long lives " and " all powers "; hard grinding at scientific and class-conscious organisation is required, and mark well, organisation for the " working stiffs," not for power grabbing and place hunting individuals who take advantage of the organised power of a section of the advanced working class to ride on the backs of the workers.

True, we see to-day the toppling over of the capitalist class, but, like the Leaning Tower of Pisa, it may look like that for many years; we see more vividly than ever, the unification of the economic front by the Lenins of the capitalist class, by the great industrial generals who are forced to the front by the abnormal conditions of a capitalist class crisis. Foremost among these is the rising industrial Napoleon, Hugo Stinnes. The capitalist class are realising the need for industrial oneness and, willy-nilly, the material conditions are forcing the puppet politicians of bourgeois democracy to bow the knee to the bearers of the capitalist standard as exampled in Stinnes.

In Holy Russia (for Russia, once holy to the doped Russian proletariat, has been re-sanctified by the hordes of delegates from Moscow) Capitalism has begun to creep like the snake in Eden, and while the Communists may hold tight the reins of power, the material conditions will, and are forcing them to ease the pressure. No one knew better than the revolting class in Russia the placing of the Iron Heel on the slippery serpent of Capitalism in its early stages; but the watchdog proletarians are being distracted from their vigil by the newly converted Communist (late Capitalist) industrial specialists.

In Russia, too, we see the trustification of industry, huge concessions granted to the master class, and instead of the revolutionary industrial unions, with their ever-present hatred of the masters, holding and controlling the reins of power, we find the self-same pseudo-Communist industrial specialists insidiously guiding the dominant body, the Government Department. Closer and closer the Labour lieutenants of the capitalist class are drawn into the net of the advancing band of Stinnes; tighter and tighter is the hold over every phase of life growing by the new peril, and deeper and deeper into the mire is crushed the international proletariat.

The Communist Party, with its eternal parrot cry of " Anarcho-Syndicalism," is preaching more assidiously than the Syndicalists the "back to the Union " policy. They who accuse all and sundry of counter-revolutionary tendencies are endeavouring to revolutionise the machine which even failed to repel the attacks of the cockroach bourgeoisie. This decrepit and hoary machine is to fight the rising Stinnes! They are endeavouring to place imitation working-class Stinnes in command of pre-war economic organisations, and they imagine the bluff will work. Not for nothing have they seen the power of the Soviet bureaucrats!

Woven amid this intricate device is the dominant pattern of Parliamentary action. Previous to the Russian Revolution, hardly any thinking member of the working class connected political action with any other sphere but Parliamentary and local government, and to-day we are assured that political action, naturally, is all the definite struggles of the working class.

If political action, then, is the conscious struggles of the working class anywhere and everywhere, we find the relation of the political field to the economic field becomes more and more vivid, we find our economic power and action is to be used to support Parliamentary action; we find that, as Karl Kautsky expressed it in an artic'e, " Practical Work in Parliament," " we must be prepared to fight for the ballot with all the means at our command." We, the working class, must fight for the right to register by an Act of Parliament what we have already gained in substance by our economic power.

The struggle on the political field, then, is the struggle for power; for the C.P., fighting on all fronts, using all weapons, is fighting for power. True, that power is supposedly for the working class, but the ever-present shriek of " Syndicalist " warns us where this power lies, and the working class subconsciously realises it. The once seemingly clear-cut policy of the C.P. for working-class domination is gradually merging into a maze of colours as its sponsor, Russia, loses its grip of the economic field. One by one the Party cat-calls herald a new move backwards from the revolutionary struggle into the Social Democratic strong-room of reaction. "Realism," " United Front," " Adaptation," all spell a lengthening of the working class servitude; for, as will be noticed from the main front, Russia, once the capitalist class lost its hold of economic power, once the industries were totally disorganised and in the hands of a revolting working class, so did their political power vanish into thin air—for political power is organised economic power.

Not on the Parliamentary field, or the local government field is this power vested, for the votes of the economically servile class are worth the paper they are recorded on.

The organisation which grasps the power given by that field alone grasps thin air, and only by battling solidly in a revolutionary mass organisation, organised and disciplined on the industrial field, can power be attained.

We see the struggles of the working class historically developed on the economic field waxing and waning as their grip on the reins of industry tightens or slackens, and we see to-day a totally disorganised working class, beaten by Stinnes-isation, fooled by politicians, yet groping blindly with the unerring direction of a class historically designed for power. We see them ever gazing with hate-ridden eyes on the workshop and factory, and their outlook changing day by day, despite the efforts of the Social Democratic politicians, towards a united working class economic organisation; for to-day the working class is slowly realising that political means—the administration of production and distribution.

The old economic organisations of the working class are being relegated to the historical museum and by the working class themselves; for, despite the mouthings of politicians that their Party must lead the working class to emancipation, the workers realise, as a class, that the working class organisations and policies, and the master class organiations and policies have nothing in common. They are realising sub-consciously that the Trade Unions of to-day have ceased to wage their battle, have ceased to be of any use as weapons in their ever-present class struggle with the master class. They are realising with the unerring judgment of a rising class, that the subsidiary bodies of the master class, i.e., Parliament, etc., that the pseudo-Communist converts from the master class, and that tactics reflected from bourgeois struggles are useless to them, and they are unerringly turning from the Trade Unions to form the One Big Union which is only the expression of the one-ness of the working class in conflict. They are increasing daily their cries for the fighting industrial unions linked up with the other workers of the world. Maybe the party theoreticians, daily conferring with each other and not the working class, do not agree; but the workers on the job and those who are now unemployed agree whole-heartedly with each other in their own language: " *What we want is one big union.*"

Yet we find this cry ignored by the Communist Party leaders, and it is the autonomy demanded by these same workers, and the fear that they will develop into lines that are not in accord with the beautifully timed plans of the political leaders, that causes the ignoring of the cry.

The political parties do not trust the working class; they believe the working class must have leaders, must have dictators, which is one of the bourgeois ideas that the working class so unerringly revolts against. The old political parties were so saturated with anti-working class ideas that they militated against the economic organisation (which they used only as a job-seeking channel), and as the working class crisis became more and more acute, as the lines of the master class and the working class became more sharply defined, it was impossible for them to hide their bourgeois, anti-working class objective, and they became servile exponents of capitalist tyranny.

To-day as the struggle deepens and the awakening of the working class quickens, we see desperate attempts of the Communist Parties to maintain their hold over the working class by dictatorship, iron discipline, and carefully-worded phrases. We find the revolutionary economic organisations becoming more and more antagonistic and in opposition to the Third, and we find the working class themselves dimly realising the necessity for the working class controlling absolutely, from the bottom up—not from Party down—the whole ramifications of industry, in short—POWER.

KROPOTKIN'S WILL.

Peter Kropotkin has left £250.

Kropotkin was a scientist and thinker of much distinction: one of the greatest thinkers, indeed, that civilisation has produced. Yet at his death he left so little money that it is tolerably certain that he was often exceedingly short of that commodity and hard put to it to make ends meet.

What becomes, then, of the reward of merit under Capitalism? Kropotkin's many books are already prized by thousands of people in every land, and their value will daily become more appreciated. Yet the publishers have given him little in return for them. Leverhulme, Bottomley, and countless others who have contributed nothing to the sum of human knowledge, far outdistanced him in wealth.

Prince Kropotkin's will further brings home the fact that here was a man born to high rank according to present social standards, who surrendered his position and became an exile in poverty for the people's cause. He contrasts well with those who have climbed up over the backs of their fellows, to social and political prominence and affluence, actual or comparative.

SHIP-OWNERS AND THE LOCK-OUT.

The shipping employers did not do badly during the slump of 1921.

Here are a few recently published figures:—Bennett Steamship Company recommends 7½ per cent. dividend, free of tax. The Lamport and Holt Line pays 8 per cent. free of tax on Ordinary shares. Houlder Brothers pay 5 per cent. free of tax, having paid an interim dividend of 3 per cent. London and Thames Haven Oil Wharves pays 6 per cent. free of tax, having paid an interim dividend of 4 per cent., tax free, in October. The Thompson Shipping Company pays a Preference dividend and an interim dividend of 10 per cent. on Ordinary shares, tax free. Smith's Dock Company has paid 5 per cent. on Preference shares and 10 per cent. on Ordinary shares, and a 2½ per cent. bonus on Ordinary shares. The Oldenburg-Portuguese Line of Hamburg recommends a 20 per cent. dividend.

ESPERANTO.

LA DUPIEDULO.

(*Daŭrigo.*)

—Ĉu ili dormas? demandis la ŝafo, kaj antaŭen etendis sian longan vizaĝon apud la bovo.

Kaj subite la tuta herbejo fariĝis vigla.

Ĉiuj bestoj ĉeestis, kiuj sekvis la du aliajn en ilia migrado. Tiel ili, kiuj tage dormas kaj nokte ĉasadas, kiel ankaŭ ili, kiuj plenumas sian taglaboron ĉe la sunlumo. Neniu plu pensadis pri laboro au ripozo.

Neniu ekpensis ataki la alian. Leono kaj cervo, lupo kaj ŝafo, kato kaj muso, ĉevalo kaj bovo kaj ankoraŭ multaj aliaj staradis unu apud la alia en la herbo. La aglo sidis meze de malgrandaj arbaraj, birdetoj sur la pinto de arbo. La orangutango sidis sur malalta branĉo kaj mangis orangon. La koko staris sur formikejo apud la vulpo. Anasoj kaj anseroj etendis sian kolon en la rivereto.

— Ĉiuj ni kunvenis tie ĉi, ni ja povas konsiliĝi, diris la leono.

— Ĉu vi esta sata? demandis la bovo.

— Mi estas sata, respondis la leono. Hodiaŭ nokte ni estas amikaj kunuloj.

— Tiam mi proponas, ke ni mortigo sen plua parolado la du fremdajn bestojn, diris la bovo.

— Kion vi ekpensas? demandis la leono. Alie vi ja estas pacemulo, kiu iras al la herbejo kaj neniu atakas. Kiel vi povas esti nun tiel sangosoifa?

— Mi ne povas tion klarigi, sed mi havas la certan senton, ke mi devas mortigi ilin kiel eble plej baldaŭ. Ili alportos al ni malfeliĉon. Ili estas malbonaj. Se vi ne obeos al mia konsilo, vi ĉiuj pentos tion.

— Mi aligas al la bovo, diris la ĉevalo; mortigu ilin ju pli frue, des pli bone.

— Mortigu ilin, mortigu ilin, ekkriis la ŝafo, kaj la kapro kaj la cervo kvazaŭ unubuŝe.

— Agu tion, agu tion, kriis la anaso, la ansero kaj la koko.

— Neniam en mia vivo, mi aŭdis tian aferon, diris la leono kaj ĉirkaŭrigardis per siaj vaste malfermitaj okuloj. La plej pacemaj kaj timemaj bestoj ale la arbaro volas atki la fremdulojn. Kion ili agis kontraŭ vi? Kial vi timas ilin?

— Mi same tiel ne povas tion klarigi, kiel la bovo, diris la ĉevalo. Sed mi sentas, ke ili estas danĝeraj. Mi sentas tion en ĉiuj miaj membroj.

— Mi havas la senton kvazaŭ oni senhaŭtigus min, kiam mi pensas pri tiuj-ĉi du, kvazaŭ min tiradus kaj ŝiradus min, diris la bovo.

— Mi frostotremas kvasaŭ mia tuta lanaro estus tondita, diris la ŝafo.

— Mi havas la senton kvazaŭ oni rostus min en fajo kaj mangus min, diris la ansero.

— Ankaŭ mi, ankaŭ mi, kriis la anaso kaj koko.

— Tio ĉi estas tre kurioza, diris la leono. Mi nenian aŭdis tian aferon, kaj ne komprenas viajn sentojn.

Kien povas fari la fremduloj kontraŭ vi? Nude kaj sennome ili marŝadas inter ni, prenas jen pomon, jen orangon kaj ne faras aĉ la plej malgrandan malbonan. Ili marŝas sur du mizeraj kruroj, kaj vi havas kvar, per kiuj vi ĉiam facile forkuros. Vi havas kornojn, vi havas ungegojn kaj dentojn. . . . Kion vi povas timi?

LLOYD GEORGE AND COMMUNISM.

The Memorandum circulated by Lloyd George to the Peace Conference in 1919, which has now been published, shows that his chief preoccupation at that time was to prevent the spread of Communism. He feared that a Communist Germany might unite with Communist Russia, and declared that the Conference could not separate, leaving Russia as it was then.

Of course, he pretended to fear the military imperialism of the Soviet Government and invasion by the Red Army; but, of course, that was merely a figure of speech. It was the menace of Communism to Capitalism to which he desired to draw attention.

The moral of his observation was that the peace terms to Germany must not be so harsh as to make the Germans turn towards Soviet Russia as their only hope, and that the Allies, having subsidised Germany, must keep Russian Communism in check.

:: CORRESPONDENCE. ::

FROM NEW ZEALAND.

A comrade from New Zealand, who recently visited London, writes:

"I have arrived in this country of farmers and docility, and can state without fear of contradiction, that, from a militant working class standpoint, it is one of the worst in the world.

"Since I left here, the boss class has victimised most of my friends, and through their inability to obtain employment, they have left New Zealand for Australia. This is a great loss to the New Zealand Labour movement, for Labour militants are few.

"Our Prime Minister, the agent of the bosses, has banned all literature of a progressive working class nature. If one is found in possession of any literature preaching the overthrow of Capitalism, it means six months' imprisonment.

"All the outrages against Labour bring not a word of protest from the official Labour leaders. We used to call them 'yellow,' but I think they have become pure white.

"I had plenty of trouble leaving England, and was arrested and searched at every port.

"The bosses of New Zealand are making a frontal attack on the workers of New Zealand, and the wage slaves are seeing the necessity of having their pay cut, in order to help the master class in its hour of need. The cuts in some cases, for instance, the water-side workers, amount to 8d. per hour, and conditions which the workers won as long as ten years ago, have been lost. But if you talk of overthrowing the capitalist system, the reply of many workers is that they are New Zealanders, not Bolsheviks. Nevertheless, dissatisfaction grows."

COMMUNAL PRACTICE.

DEAR EDITOR—

It must now be obvious to the meanest intelligence that the present form of society is nearing the end of its cycle. This fact, though it may be anything but pleasing to that section known as the "propertied class," should be hailed with delight by every intelligent member of the "working class," even though it may entail great privations and sacrifices, for these would still have to be borne, possibly in far greater measure if the present form still continued to exist. Events in the political and industrial fields today are but culminating phases in the bloody struggle which has for ages raged round two opposite "principles" of human society: viz., "*Competitive*," with its "each for self and devil take the hindmost," and "*Communal*," with its "each for all and all for each."

The intention here is to set forth a few practical and elemental ideas on Communal Practice—which, if put into operation, would materially assist in giving the *coup de grace* to Capitalism.

Undoubtedly, to many, Communism will involve a new "mental orientation. Ideas such as underlie the present terms of "Mine and Thine" will have to be entirely eliminated and replaced by the more comprehensive term, "*Ours.*" Ownership then becomes "common" and consequently "interest" is vested in all. It has somewhere been said: "The best way to get an idea accepted generally, is to put it into practice," and in accordance with this, the following ideas of Communal practice are submitted in the hope that sincere believers in the principles of Communism will give some consideration to the formation of Communal Associations in their areas.

Now, regarding the "practice," one or two examples must suffice. Suppose the Smith family, living in London, desire to spend a holiday in, say, York; the Jones family living in York are desirous of spending the same time in London. Under present conditions, both families would take up accommodation either in "Rooms" or Boarding houses at the respective places named, and the family exchequers, depleted by the amount of rent paid for such accommodation, thus decreasing funds available for some much-needed pleasures.

Now, suppose, by the aid of local Communal Associations, of which the Smith and Jones families are members, requisite information can be obtained, by which the Smith family can occupy the Jones' family residence whilst on their holiday, and the Jones family occupy the Smith's domicile. The mutual benefits from such an arrangement need no elaboration. So much for one example of Communal Practice.

Now to take a local case. Let Brown be a carpenter, Smith a plumber, and Robinson an upholsterer. Brown needs some repairs to his gas-fittings, whilst Smith requires a hen-coop erecting on his cabbage patch. The position now is that Brown erects Smith's hen-coop and Smith repairs Brown's gas-fitting, result—mutual *needs* satisfied. Of course, provision of material would be a matter for mutual arrangement.

One other example. Suppose Robinson needs some repairs to his gas fittings, whilst Smith is not in need of any social service. Still, Smith, by virtue of his *ability*, and Robinson's *need*, repairs the gas-fittings, thus fulfilling the fundamental *law* of Communism, i.e., "From each according to his *ability*; to each according to his *need*." It is impossible within space limits to detail the thousand and one ways in which Communal Practice, with its mutual advantages, can be carried out, whilst the present form of society reels into a too-long-deferred oblivion. The idea of Communal Practice may be in itself good; but, like all good things, it is not wholly free from evil, for it would seem to create a tendency towards contentment, by reason of its "ameliorative" effect; in other words, the measure of benefits derived would tend to make the workers more ready to compromise when attacked by the "parasitic" class, although, doubtless, this danger could be adequately countered, providing the Communal Associations were well founded on a "class-conscious" basis. As regards the setting up of Communal Associations, no difficulty should be experienced, as existing machinery throughout the Socialist movement could be utilised; but the three chief enemies to progress—Doctrinarism, Authoritarianism and Sentimentalism—would have to be rigorously excluded. The purpose of this contribution will be served if every "conscious" and "sincere" worker in the ranks of the "dispossessed" will make a determined effort to carry the "mutual" principle another stage beyond the "debatable" point.

I hope that other comrades will express their views on this question, and should be glad to hear from them, if I may, through the Editor.

Yours for Communism,

"DIONYSUS."

WOMEN STUDENTS AND THE LONDON HOSPITAL.

The decision to exclude women medical students from the London Hospital has a purely economic, a Trade Union motive. Medical men are alarmed at the encroachments of medical women, made during the war, upon their profession, which in peace time is overcrowded, having regard to the number of people who can afford to pay for medical attention.

Lord Knutsford pretends that his objections to women students are based on mere old-fashioned prudishness, that he cannot tolerate the notion of lads and girls in their early twenties studying venereal diseases together, and examining human bodies in close proximity. If he really were the prurient old fool he professes himself, he would object to the presence of nurses amongst the doctors on such occasions. Perhaps he will pretend that he does not regard the average hospital nurse as belonging quite to his own social class, and therefore considers a nurse may be regarded as a cipher who does not count.

The obvious retort of women who can afford to choose their medical advisers is that if a medical man cannot properly be trained in the presence of women students, he cannot properly attend to women patients. A host of women, however, are obliged to go to the Panel doctor or to the hospital, and must get what attention they can without picking and choosing.

DESIRABLE MANSIONS.—*Continued from p. 8.*

If these words should come to the eye of such a one I would pray him to think for a moment—to glance at this great enthroned Wrong in its dungeon palace (not the less a wrong because the laws countenance and encourage it)—to listen for the cry of the homeless many, trodden under foot, a yearly sacrifice to it; to watch the self-inflicted sufferings of its worshippers, the ennui, the depression, the unlovely faces of ill-health; to observe the falsehood on which it is founded, and therefore the falsehood, the futility, the unbelief in God or Man which spring out of it—and to turn away, determined, as far as in him lies, to worship in that Dragon-house no longer.

SPICE.

"Hello, is this the society for the prevention of cruelty to——"

"Yes, yes, this is the place. What is it?"

"Send somebody over, right away. There's a lean and hungry creature lying on my back porch, who is groaning and shivering. . . . Do hurry, please."

"What sort of animal is it? A dog, a cat, or a——"

"No, no; it's a man!"

"Oh, a man! But this is the wrong place, we only care for dumb animals. Humans are supposed to take care of themselves."

—*The Dawn.*

FREE MILK FOR ALL IS COMING.

Well, Mr. Worker, what do you think of the price of butter rising again? Margarine, too, they say, will presently go up.

Have you noticed that though the price of butter has risen, the price of milk has fallen, and the wages of the agricultural workers have been greatly reduced? The cost of producing butter must therefore be less, yet you are charged more.

Have you heard, as reported in the newspapers, that some farmers are giving their milk to the pigs, or even throwing it away, in order to keep up the price?

Meanwhile, remember, Mrs. Worker, that ome mothers' babies are actually dying, or growing up rickety, deformed and feeble, for lack of milk.

The Ministry of Health has lately cut down the supplies of free milk and milk at reduced cost to necessitous mothers and babies, although there is actually more milk produced than can be sold.

New milk has long been so expensive that more and more people have taken to using condensed milk. In 1920, 15,000 cwts. of condensed milk were imported into this country. In 1921, no less than 51,000 cwts. were imported. Nevertheless millions of people went short of milk of any kind. The child of poorer working class parents simply does not get milk, once it has passed out of babyhood, unless the school Care Committee doles out a little, on account of the child's poor health.

And yet the milk is being thrown away. Surely you can see there is something wrong there, Mrs. Worker?

You have all the water you need to use, as a rule, do you not, Mrs. Worker? You are not compelled to run with your jug to buy it; nor obliged to go without it if you happen to be short of money.

Why should you have to buy your milk, then? Milk is as vital a necessity to your baby as water. Why is it not brought round to your door as a matter of course?

Why is not that milk which is being thrown away, or given to the pigs, supplied to the people? If you were to send the farmer the price of conveying the milk from the farm to your house still the farmer would not send you the milk; he would rather throw it away than let you have it under price. Do not blame the farmer, however, blame the system, Mrs. Worker.

Moreover, the farmer gets less for the milk than the dealer who stands between you and the farmer. The dealers get three-quarters of the profit and the farmer only about a quarter. The milk combine which handles about 80 per cent. of London's milk supply, is offering Wiltshire farmers 9d. per gallon for milk for April, and 7d. a gallon for May and June. The combine proposes to sell the milk at 5d. a quart in London. Of course, Mrs. Worker, you will say that is rank profiteering on the part of the dealers: you will declare such profiteering ought to be stopped, but whether by the dealer's own conscience, by Act of Parliament, by a boycott of the milk carried out by the consumers, or by what other means, perhaps you have not made up your mind.

We advise you not to bother your head with schemes of profit limitation, by whomsoever they may be devised or enforced, for these will only supply slight temporary modifications of the present evils. Some Milk Act or other may probably limit the dealers' profits and perhaps make things more comfortable for the farmers. If there were a really big agitation, something might be done to keep down the price YOU have to pay—for a time.

But such reforms do not last, and when you have toiled to get down the price of one commodity, the price of another goes up, and in any case the wages come down with the fall in the cost of living.

When we change the system, Mrs. Worker; when we abolish money and buying and selling, people will get their milk and everything else as they need it, without payment.

Do not imagine it is impossible, Mrs. Worker: it is a perfectly clear and simple proposition. This country alone could, if we chose, produce more milk than we could all of us possibly consume: without importing any milk at all, whether fresh, dried, or condensed. We could produce so much milk, with a little organisation, that the difficulty would be to know how to use it all, even if our consumption were not limited, as at present, by any consideration of price.

We could produce everything else also in abundance, and give it all away without charge. Since everything would be free, no one would need money, profits, wages, interest or dividends.

We should need no prisons, for no one would steal, knowing that all they required was free to them. We should have no commercial travellers, commission agents, bankers and stockbrokers, or advertisements; no inferior goods produced merely for cheapness.

Think it over, Mrs. Worker; would not you like to be without the rent and the household bills?

Remember this: Free milk for all is coming. It will come when the workers are determined to get it, and everything else we buy will be free besides.

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PARABLE OF THE WATER TANK.—*Contd. from p. 2*

it came to pass as the agitators had said, even according to all their words. And there was no more any thirst in that land, neither any that was a-hungered, nor naked, nor cold, nor in any manner of want; and every man said unto his fellow, "My brother," and every woman said unto her companion, "My sister," for so were they with one another as brethren and sisters which do dwell together in unity.

And the blessing of God rested upon that land for ever.

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